

HART-TEETER  
\* 1724 Connecticut Avenue, NW  
1991 Washington, DC 20009

Study 4015page 1

Interviews: 811 respondents  
Dates: February 26-27,  
(202) 234-5570

FINAL--POST-GROUND WAR

49 Male  
51 Female  
[5]

Study #4015  
NBC News/WSJ  
February 1991

ARE	TYPE	SAM	DATE
<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	February <input type="text"/>
[6]	[8]	[9]	[12]
[7]		[10]	[13]
		[11]	1991
	TIM		
	<input type="text"/>	<input type="text"/>	
	[14]	[15]	
		[16]	
		[17]	

Be sure

Hello, my name is \_\_\_\_\_ and I'm calling from Hart-Teeter for NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. We're conducting a confidential poll of public opinion across the country. Of the people living in your household who are at least 18 years old, including those who are not home right now, can you tell me who had the most recent birthday? (IF PERSON DOESN'T KNOW ALL THE BIRTHDAYS, SAY:) Well, of the ones you do know, who had the last birthday? May I speak to that person please? (IF PERSON WITH MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY IS NOT HOME, FIND OUT WHEN HE/SHE WILL RETURN AND MAKE AN APPOINTMENT TO CALL BACK.)

(IF RESPONDENT INDICATES THAT HE/SHE IS THE ONE WITH THE MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY, SAY:) Here is my first question. (PROCEED IMMEDIATELY TO QUESTION #1--DO NOT PAUSE.)

(IF RESPONDENT INDICATES THAT HE/SHE IS NOT THE ONE TO HAVE THE MOST RECENT BIRTHDAY, ASK TO SPEAK TO THE PERSON WHO DID. AFTER RESPONDENT COMES TO THE PHONE, SAY:)

Hello, my name is \_\_\_\_\_ and I'm calling from Hart-Teeter for NBC News and *The Wall Street Journal*. We're conducting a confidential poll of public opinion across the country. Are you at least 18 years old and the person with the most recent birthday of all the adults living in this household? (IF "YES," SAY:) Here is my first question. (PROCEED IMMEDIATELY TO QUESTION #1--DO NOT PAUSE.)

1. Are you currently registered to vote in the precinct or election district where you now live, or haven't you had a chance to register yet?

Yes.....	10	<b>CONTINUE</b>	[19]
	0		
No.....	-	<b>TERMINATE AND</b>	
		<b>DO NOT COUNT</b>	
Not sure.....	-		

2. All in all, do you think things in the nation are generally headed in the right direction, or do you feel that things are off on the wrong track?

		12/9	10/9	9/90	7/90	5/90	4/9	3/9	1/90	11/8	9/8	
		0	0				0	0		9	9	
Right	6	28	22	45	40	42	47	44	49	41	42	[20
direction	5											]
Wrong track	2	51	59	40	37	38	32	31	29	35	34	

	2											
	9	15	14	10	18	16	13	20	17	19	19	
Mixed (VOL)	4	6	5	5	5	4	8	5	5	5	5	
Not sure												

\* Includes an oversample of 11 blacks to raise this group to a statistically relevant size.

3. I'm going to read you the names of several people who are active in the news. I'd like you to rate your feelings toward each one as either very positive, somewhat positive, neutral, somewhat negative, or very negative. If you don't know the name, please just say so. (READ EACH NAME AND REPEAT CHOICES. START FROM THE BOTTOM AND WORK YOUR WAY UP ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)

	<u>Very Positive</u>	<u>Somewhat Positive</u>	<u>Neutral</u>	<u>Somewhat Negative</u>	<u>Very Negative</u>	<u>Don't Know Name/Not Sure</u>	
Colin Powell.....	46	22	8	2	1	21	[21]
Saddam Hussein.....	2	1	2	4	90	1	[22]
Dick Cheney.....	33	33	13	2	2	17	[23]
Mikhail Gorbachev.....	7	32	30	18	8	5	[24]
July 1990.....	22	43	17	8	5	5	
May 1990.....	19	40	19	10	6	6	
December 1989.....	15	36	26	11	6	6	
November 1989.....	13	41	20	10	8	8	
Norman Schwarzkopf.....	44	19	10	2	2	23	[25]

4. In general, do you approve or disapprove of the job George Bush is doing as president?

		<u>1/91</u>	<u>12/90</u>	<u>10/30-31/90</u>	<u>10/19-21/90</u>	<u>9/90</u>	<u>7/90</u>	<u>5/90</u>	<u>4/90</u>	<u>3/90</u>	<u>1/90</u>	<u>11/89</u>	<u>9/89</u>	
Approve	85	77	57	56	59	75	67	72	75	69	71	67	67	[26]
Disapprove	11	15	36	32	32	15	22	21	15	19	19	22	17	
Not sure	4	8	7	12	9	10	11	7	10	12	10	11	16	

5. How much longer do you expect the war with Iraq will last? (DO NOT READ CHOICES.)

		<u>1/91</u>	
Less than 1 week.....	30	NA	[27]
1 week to 2 weeks.....	25	NA	
2 weeks to 4 weeks.....	9	NA	
Less than 1 month.....	NA	7	
1 to 2 months.....	15	20	
3 to 6 months.....	6	23	
Between 6 months and one year.....	3	20	
More than a year.....	2	12	
Not sure.....	10	18	

6. What is the biggest change you have noticed in the American people since the war with Iraq began?

(PROBE:) In what ways do you think Americans feel differently about themselves and the country? [28-35]

Net Favorable Changes	84 %	Net Unfavorable Changes	19%
	33	Sadness; bitterness; uncertain about the future.....	4
Patriotism; display of the American flag; yellow ribbons....	32	People are concerned with the economy, economic problems.....	4
We are united, there is a sense of togetherness.....	16	Against the war; troops should come home.....	2
Pride; proud of the United States; proud to be Americans...	11	Country is divided; mixed emotions; some against the war and some in favor of the war.....	2
Supporting, backing the troops. .	8		
People are supporting the president.....			4
		Don't know; no response.....	

7. Do you think it was a good idea or a bad idea for President Bush to reject the Soviet peace proposal and start the ground war?

Good idea.....	8	[36]
	5	
Bad idea.....	1	
	1	
Not sure.....	4	

8. Let me read you some goals the United States and its allies might have in the war with Iraq. For each, please tell me whether you think the United States and its allies should or should not continue the war in order to achieve this goal. (FOR EACH ITEM, ASK:) Do you think the U.S. and its allies should or should not continue the war in order **(READ ITEM)? (RECORD BELOW. ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

	Should Continue	Should Not Continue	Not Sure	
To force Iraq to withdraw from Kuwait.....	92	6	2	[37]
January 1991.....	91	7	2	
To remove Saddam Hussein as the leader of Iraq.....	79	16	5	[38]
To destroy Iraq's offensive military capabilities.....	79	15	6	[39]
January 1991.....	87	10	3	
To capture or kill Saddam Hussein.....	56	34	10	[40]
January 1991.....	73	21	6	

- 9a. If the Iraqis are retreating from Kuwait with their weapons, should the United States continue to attack, or should the U.S. let them retreat with their weapons?

U.S. should continue to attack.....	73	[41]
U.S. should let them retreat with their weapons.....	20	
Not sure.....	7	

- 9b. Which of the following statements comes closest to your point of view? **(READ STATEMENTS.)**  
**(ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

**Statement A:** The United States should accept a peace settlement that allows Saddam Hussein to remain as the leader of Iraq if Iraq removes all of its troops from Kuwait.

**Statement B:** If Iraq removes all of its troops from Kuwait, the United States should continue the war to remove Saddam Hussein as the leader of Iraq, even if it involves thousands of additional American casualties.

Statement A.....	41	[42]
Statement B.....	41	
Neither (VOL).....	11	
Not sure.....	7	

10. If the Iraqis use chemical or biological weapons, would you favor or oppose the U.S.' using tactical nuclear weapons?

Favor.....	5	[43]
	3	
Oppose.....	3	
	7	
Not sure.....	1	
	0	

11. In situations where both parents are U.S. soldiers, do you think the U.S. military should or should not offer to exempt one of the parents from serving in the Persian Gulf?

Should.....	8	[44]
	0	
Should not.....	1	
	5	
Not sure.....	5	

12. In general, do you think the Pentagon has been open enough in providing information about the war, or do you think the Pentagon has been withholding information that should be available?

Pentagon has been open enough.....	7	<u>1/91</u> 73	[45]
	3		
Pentagon has been withholding information.....	2	23	
	1		
Not sure.....	6	4	

13. Since the war with Iraq started, have you gained respect for **(READ ITEM)**, lost respect, or is your opinion unchanged? **(REPEAT FOR OTHER ITEM. ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

	Gained <u>Respec</u> <u>t</u>	Lost <u>Respec</u> <u>t</u>	Opinion <u>Unchange</u> <u>d</u>	Not <u>Sure</u>	
Germany.....	10	16	66	8	[46]
January 1991.....	17	23	51	9	
The news media and the way they have covered the war.....	40	23	34	3	[47]
January 1991.....	45	20	33	2	
Japan.....	11	29	51	9	[48]
January 1991.....	10	42	42	6	
The Soviet Union.....	18	28	47	7	[49]

- 14a. Let me read you a number of actions the United States could take after the war with Iraq ends. For each, please tell me if you would favor or oppose the United States' taking this action after the war. (FOR EACH ITEM, ASK:) Would you favor or oppose the United States' (READ ITEM)? (ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>Not Sure</u>	
Allowing Saddam Hussein to go into exile if he steps down as the leader of Iraq.....	46	46	8	[50]
Pressuring all the Arab countries in the allied coalition to agree to Israel's right to exist behind secure borders.....	63	22	15	[51]
Leaving a U.S. military force in the Middle East.....	55	37	8	[52]
Contributing money to help rebuild Iraq...	28	67	5	[53]
Putting Saddam Hussein on trial for war crimes.....	84	11	5	[54]
Giving Israel 13 billion dollars in new aid for the settlement of Soviet Jews and to compensate for war-related costs.....	28	59	13	[55]
Putting top Iraqi leaders on trial for war crimes.....	78	16	6	[56]
Seeking a Middle East peace conference to resolve problems between Israel and the Arab nations.....	85	8	7	[57]

- 14b. Do you think the United States should or should not keep a military force in Kuwait for the foreseeable future to protect it from Iraq?**

U.S. should keep a military force in Kuwait.....	6	[58]
U.S. should <u>not</u> keep a military force in Kuwait.....	3	
Not sure.....	2	
	9	
	8	

- 15. When the war with Iraq ends, do you think your family spending will increase, decrease, or stay about the same?**

Increase.....	1	[59]
	6	
Decrease.....	6	
Stay about the same.....	7	
	5	
Not sure.....	3	

- 16. And finally, whom would you rather see as the vice-presidential candidate on the Republican ticket with George Bush in 1992--(READ NAMES)? (ROTATE ORDER ON EVERY OTHER INTERVIEW.)**

Vice-President Dan Quayle....	2	[60]
	3	
General Colin ("COLE-in") Powell.....	5	
	0	
Both equally (VOL).....	3	
Neither (VOL).....	9	
Not sure.....	1	
	5	

**FACTUALS:** Now I am going to ask you a few questions for statistical purposes only.

- F1. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Democrat, a Republican, an Independent, or something else?

(IF "DEMOCRAT" OR "REPUBLICAN," ASK:) Would you call yourself a strong Democrat/Republican or a not very strong Democrat/Republican? (IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "NOT STRONG DEMOCRAT/REPUBLICAN.")

(IF "INDEPENDENT," ASK:) Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party, closer to the Democratic Party, or do you think of yourself as strictly Independent? (IF "NOT SURE," CODE AS "STRICTLY INDEPENDENT.")

Strong Democrat.....	1	[61]
	9	
Not strong Democrat.....	1	
	4	
Independent/lean Democrat.....	6	
Strictly Independent.....	1	
	8	
Independent/lean Republican.....	9	
Not strong Republican.....	1	
	2	
Strong Republican.....	1	
	7	
Other.....	3	
Refused.....	1	
Don't know/nothing.....	1	

- F2. How old are you? (IF REFUSED, ASK:) Well, can you tell me which age group you belong to? Are you in the age group 18 to 24, 25 to 26, 27 to 29, 30 to 34, 35 to 39, 40 to 44, 45 to 49, 50 to 54, 55 to 59, 60 to 64, or 65 and over?

18-24.....	9	45-49.....	8	[62]
25-26.....	3	50-54.....	8	
27-29.....	7	55-59.....	8	
30-34.....	1	60-64.....	6	
	1			
35-39.....	1	65 and over.....	17	
	0			
40-44.....	1	Not sure/refused.....	1	
	2			

- F3. Are you white, black, Hispanic, Asian, or something else?

White.....	8	[63]
	1	
Black.....	1	
	0	
Hispanic.....	5	
Asian.....	1	
Other.....	2	
Not sure/refused.....	1	

- F4. If you added the yearly income of all the members of your family who were living at home last year, would the total be less than \$10,000, between \$10,000 and \$20,000, between \$20,000 and \$30,000, between \$30,000 and \$40,000, between \$40,000 and \$50,000, between \$50,000 and \$75,000, or would the total be more than that?

Less than \$10,000.....	7	[64]
Between \$10,000 and \$20,000.....	1	
	4	
Between \$20,000 and \$30,000.....	1	



Study 4015page 6	9
Between \$30,000 and \$40,000.....	1
	5
Between \$40,000 and \$50,000.....	1
	3
Between \$50,000 and \$75,000.....	1
	5
More than \$75,000.....	6
Not sure/refused.....	1
	1